

BIL MORRISON
MUG!"

PEACE NEWS

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PROTEST AT ATOM PLANT

Non-violent resisters calm opposition, hold meeting

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

ORGANISED opposition was encountered for the first time by the Non-Violent Resistance Group when they staged a demonstration outside the Harwell Atomic Energy Research Establishment on Saturday to protest against the manufacture of atom bombs in Britain and secret atomic research.

As the paraders carrying posters bearing slogans such as, "Should Christians drop atom bombs?", "End Atom secrecy," approached the sprawling plant they were met by a group of about 20 apprentices from Harwell, armed with a fire extinguisher, motor hooters and bells.

The apprentices jeered as the procession came up. Some edged into the line between the marchers, but the parade kept on. They then moved to the rear of the column and followed singing "John Brown's body" and catcalling.

After walking to the main gate, the line turned back towards the centre of Harwell housing-estate where a public meeting was to be held. All along the route men and women came out of their houses to see the parade and read the posters. Leaflets were handed out to everyone in sight, bunches of them were placed on the buses carrying workers home from the establishment.

Meeting obstructed

When the protesters assembled for the meeting, the youths formed a group in front of the rostrum. They were joined by men and women from the nearby houses.

As soon as Hugh Brock, the meeting chairman, mounted the rostrum to begin the meeting, a hulkaboo broke out. Every word was met with jeers and the clanging of bells. Nevertheless the people heard him explain the reason for the demonstration.

"I am glad that you have come to our meeting," he said, "and if you keep quiet you'll hear all the better what it's about."

There was quietness for a while. Then Tom Wardle, another member of the Group got up to speak. Again the storm of deris on came. The Group members stood around quietly, smiling and waiting for the noise to cease.

"Do you want to hear me?" asked the speaker. "Yes," shouted some. Others, becoming a little disturbed at their own behaviour began to appeal to their mates for silence. Twenty minutes of good-natured rugging between the audience and the speaker went on. Then the youths gave in and the meeting commenced.

Evidence of atomic weapons

The Non-Violent Resistance Group, the meeting was told, represented pacifists from several organisations who had come that day to protest against the continuation of secret atomic research.

No scientist could be sure that the results of his work were to be devoted exclusively to the promotion of human well-being. Britain had already given evidence at Monte Bello that she was engaged in the manufacture of atomic weapons.

Pacifists wanted work of that kind to stop and they appealed to workers at Harwell to think again about the work they did and if necessary to put themselves on the line rather than continue to give their services to the production of horror weapons.

After the meeting, residents struck up conversations with the pacifists. Small groups of people stayed behind and carried on talking for half an hour or more. Then, keeping to their schedule, the Group moved off towards the main road to take their march to Abingdon, the nearest town, for another demonstration.

In Abingdon the demonstrators formed a line and paraded slowly through the streets which were busy with Saturday shoppers.

Bombs and right living

Hundreds of leaflets were given out to the crowd and pushed through letter boxes. Towards four o'clock, the rostrum was set up again.

We believe, in common with other pacifists, that the manufacture of atomic weapons is something which cannot be squared with concern for the rights of the other races. With democracy, freedom and right living, said Hugh Brock, opening the meeting.

Mrs Mona Bentin, a PPU member and mother of two children, followed. "We sympathise with those of you who speak of the freedom of the individual, and of the freedom of the world which threaten it," she announced. "But you cannot have freedom by war."

The individual was not powerless. If he changed his attitude it followed that the world would change. None of the great rearmaments of history would have taken place if one person, at one particular time, had faith, courage and perseverance been

Continued back page

The Eisenhower "Peace Offensive"

FOUR ASSURANCES THE WEST SHOULD GIVE

NO one who compares the most recent speech of President Eisenhower with his state of the Union mesago can fail to notice a distinct shift

Then he was entirely concerned with rearmament for defence.

He announced the freeing of Formosa and encouraged the Nationalist forces in their dream of the reconquest of the Chinese mainland.

He denounced the wartime agreements made by Britain, America and Russia, and more than hinted at the need of liberating all countries under Communist domination.

The whole message was summed up in the pregnant sentence: "There is but one sure way to avoid total war, and that is to win the cold war."

Kindly references to Russia

There is indeed much in the recent speech which reflects this cold war thinking, but there is also much which mitigates it.

There is the recognition that the Soviet Union is a victim of fear, and there are kindly references to Russia and the amazing courage of the Russian soldiers in the war.

There is a remembrance of the common purpose which underlay the wartime comradeship—the building of an age of peace.

But then, just when it looked as though he was fulfilling his promise of going more than half-way and was really holding out his hand to Malenkov, he spoilt it all by an inability to rid himself of his own fears and distrust, or to rely on negotiation to end the cold war.

Standards of judgment

His assertion is that the road which the wartime allies had trodden together had divided, but while America had pursued the path of peace, Russia had followed the road to war.

He enunciated the clear precepts which, he claimed, had marked the path chosen by the USA, and in doing so condemned Britain and America:

"No people on earth can be held—as a people—to be an enemy, for all humanity shares the common hunger for peace, fellowship and justice."

No nation's security and well-being can be achieved in isolation.

"Any nation's right to form a government of its own choosing is inalienable."

"Any nation's attempt to dictate to other nations their form of government is indefensible."

"A nation's hope of lasting peace cannot be firmly based upon any race in armaments."

Had these been our guiding principles, we should not have allowed fear of Russia to make us behave as though the Russian people were our enemies nor should we have attempted to isolate the East from the West.

We should not have attempted to dictate to other countries their form of government by suggesting that we would fight Com-

An analysis of the President's speech, by Stuart Morris

Communism anywhere and everywhere.

We should not have taken our share in speeding up the race in atomic armaments.

To turn to the other side of the picture—the outline of the different vision of the USSR. "In a world of its design," said Eisenhower, "security was to be found not in mutual aid and mutual trust, but in force; huge armies, subversion, rule of neighbour nations. The goal was power superiority at all costs."

If that is the indictment against Russia, how do Britain and America stand up to the same test?

Have not we too sought security in terms of force?

Could not Russia with equal truth assert that she had been "compelled in self-defence to spend unprecedented money and energy on armaments?"

Huge armies are not to be found only on one side of the iron curtain.

Western goal of power

The expenditure of money on so-called mutual security has shown that Britain and America are not averse to employing methods of subversion; while our attitude to Japan and Western Germany has shown a determination to dictate the policy which they must pursue.

The Western goal has been power superiority at all costs—for this is what negotiation from strength means. Our purpose has been to attain such superiority as would enable us to dictate to the Soviet leaders what they must do.

The knowledge of the meaning of total war has lead Eisenhower, Churchill and others to think more about the way of negotiation, but they are not ready to accept it is an alternative to the way of war. They balance a distrust of the effectiveness of war with the risks of negotiation, and as a result, they do not come down on one side or the other but seek to combine both in the self-contradictory policy of negotiation from strength.

Perhaps the greatest danger at the moment is the attempt to justify that policy by the implying that the new attitude of Russia is a recognition of our superior strength and the intention to continue to pursue that policy.

It is easy to argue that conciliation is a sign of weakness because no one can prove the case either way.

The advocates of rearmament are always in the happy position of being able to have it both ways.

If the other side changes its attitude they can claim it as a proof of the success of their policy. If war results, they can vin-

dicate themselves by saying how right they were to be fully prepared.

This much, however, is beyond doubt, because the whole evidence of history witnesses to it. Policies which can only be expressed in an armaments race, must, if they are persisted in, lead not to peace but to war.

Eisenhower himself asserts this when he says:

"What can the world hope for if no turning is found...? The worst is atomic war, the best a life of perpetual fear and tension; a burden of armaments draining the wealth and labour of all peoples; a wasting of strength that defies any system to achieve true happiness for the peoples."

"Every gun that is fired, every warship that is launched, every rocket that is fired signifies—in the final sense—a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed..."

For one bomber: 30 schools

"The cost of one modern heavy bomber is a modern brick school in more than 30 cities. It is two electric power plants each serving 60,000 people."

"It is two fully-equipped hospitals. It is 50 miles of concrete highway."

"We pay for a single fighter aircraft with 500,000 bushels of wheat. We pay for a single destroyer with homes that would accommodate 8,000 people."

"This is the best way of life to be found on the road which the world has been taking."

So President Eisenhower has vividly described the crisis of this Spring. But crisis is a time of judgment—not of others but of ourselves.

It is we who have to choose which road we will take.

If we are going to seize the present opportunity let there be no more false and dangerous assumptions about Russia.

Let us give her the full benefit of the doubt and accept that the new offers represent a genuine desire for peace and not a confession of weakness.

Let there be no talk of victory in the cold war, but only of the victory of commonsense over madness; trust over fear and love over hatred.

Russian and Chinese gestures

But what of the signs of sincere intent? It must be said that so far they have come almost entirely from Russia and China:

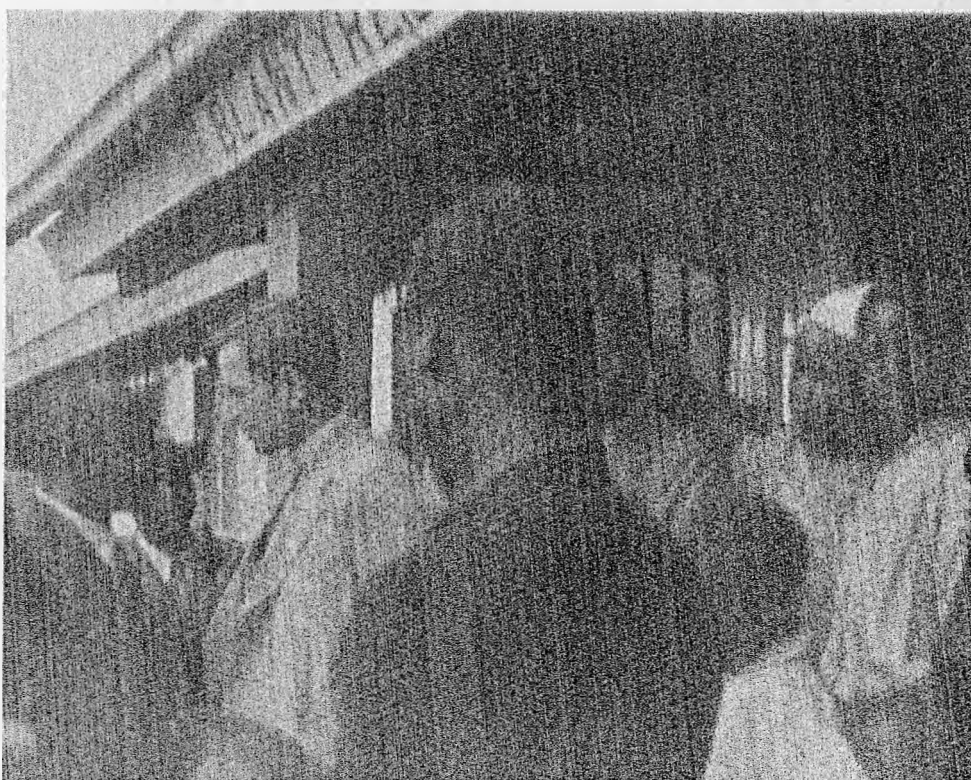
1.—The return of the British and French civilians interned since the beginning of the Korean war.

Who would have thought three weeks ago that an RAF plane would have been allowed to land at Moscow to bring back the repatriated civilians?

2.—The readiness to exchange sick and wounded POW's and the request for the resumption of the full armistice talks with the implication that China and North Korea will accept the principle of no forcible detention or repatriation, if there can be agreement on the neutral country who will accept responsibility for the doubtful prisoners.

3.—The expression of regret at the loss of British airmen and the invitation to a conference to find means to prevent such tra-

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MICHAEL SCOTT IN NYASALAND.
Rev. Michael Scott being received at Blantyre by Mr. Chinyama, President of Nyasaland African Congress, during his tour of Central Africa to discuss with Africans the new moves towards federation of the area without the consent of the Africans.

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24th April, 1953

THE DOCTORS—AND OTHERS

ON page seven, Mr. Douglas Goldring condemns our comments following the release after Stalin's death of the eleven doctors who had previously been arrested and who had confessed to the crimes with which they were charged.

(Fifteen were released; apparently four had been quietly arrested without any charges being publicly announced.)

Mr. Goldring says that "the prompt action taken by the Procurator to prevent a miscarriage of justice should be held to redound to the credit of the Soviet system."

In what sense does Mr. Goldring use the word "prompt," when he contrasts this action with what has happened regarding the Hiss case and that of the Rosenbergs?

Those who, like Mr. Goldring, are more concerned with facts than with blind prejudice, can of course also contrast it with what happened in the cases of Slansky, Clementis, Kostov, Rajk, and others.

Does he mean that the action to release the doctors was taken promptly after the death of Stalin, or does he mean that they were released before being brought to trial, whereas the Rosenbergs and Hiss were brought to trial?

★

Mr. Goldring forgets that, however prompt may have been the action of the Procurator, the action of the Communist Press throughout the world—including that of Great Britain—had been even more prompt; and that these men had been pronounced guilty of the crimes of which they were accused before they had been brought to trial.

Now in all the earlier "purge" trials—most of which took place before Eisenhower and Dulles had ever been heard of—there had been a similar uniformity of condemnation in the whole Communist Press before the men concerned could be brought to trial.

This happened, too, in the cases of Slansky and the others we have cited. There is of course, no possibility of the appropriate Procurator acting with similar promptitude with regard to Slansky, for Slansky is dead.

Dead also, are the hundreds of Russians who since the nineteen thirties had confessed in the same way as did the doctors, and had met with the same universal condemnation in advance of their trials in the Russian Press and in the Communist Press throughout the world. No Procurator's promptitude can save these.

★

"We do not say that all the men who, like the doctors, made confessions, were 'innocent.' The majority of them were probably 'guilty' of opposing their Government; and, as we remarked, 'where any organised political opposition is a crime there are doubtless cases in which men will feel that the only course open to them is the kind of subversive action that can be designated treachery.'"

That some of them were guilty of treason in this sense, we have no doubt; we have equally no doubt that many of them were "framed," just as the doctors would have been "framed"; and just as we now learn were Baramia, Rapava and Zodelava in Georgia.

In questioning Mr. Goldring's contrasting of the case with that of the Rosenbergs we are not implying any justification of the treatment of the Rosenbergs.

Even apart from the new evidence now coming to light, we believe that America will have been guilty of a great crime of State if these two people are sent to their death.

There are nevertheless two aspects arising from his use of this comparison upon which we believe that Mr. Goldring—in loyalty to the principles of Liberalism he has claimed he cherishes—owes it to himself and to us to comment.

★

Last December, a group of distinguished French writers sent a telegram to the U.S. Government asking for a reprieve for the Rosenbergs. They also telegraphed the Czech Government asking for mercy for Slansky and the ten condemned with him.

The Rosenbergs are alive today although their fate is still to be decided. Slansky and the rest were killed within a few hours of the despatch of the telegram.

Whereas there is much activity by means of appeals and petitions on behalf of the Rosenbergs, nothing comparable could happen in Russia in relation to the doctors or in any of the cases of the condemned people who preceded them.

Does not Mr. Goldring feel that a believer in Liberal principles is called upon to have any views on this state of affairs?

The first prisoners come home

WE rejoice at the beginning of the return of the prisoners of war.

We hope that the repatriation of sick and disabled men will be rapidly followed by an agreement which will make possible the release of all the prisoners, that this will be accompanied by an end of the Korean war, and be followed quickly by a move to a general pacification.

The news to be gathered from the British prisoners is what was to be expected: conditions "pretty grim" at first but gradually improving.

It will have been much the same regarding the prisoners held by the Americans. There were apparently no greater "conditioning" activities in regard to European and American prisoners than is generally to be expected in POW camps: regular lectures on "public affairs" were available to them.

On the other hand the South Koreans say that they were subject to intense political indoctrination; and this is what one would expect. It is part of the civil war activities. We know that the same thing happened to North Korean prisoners on Kojé and elsewhere.

Behind Eisenhower

STUART MORRIS comments on page one on President Eisenhower's speech and the developments that are called for in the West.

One thing should not be forgotten about a pronouncement of this kind: it has to provide a focussing point to ascertain, not only the reaction of the Russians and Chinese, but also that of the powerful interests to which a Republican President must have regard.

We have already referred to the immediate slump on Wall Street that followed the better news from Korea.

Behind the Republican Party there are many hardfaced men who have been doing very well out of the war.

A general pacification that would make obviously possible a big reduction in the armaments programme would not suit their book at all; and they know how to exert political pressure.

A very striking example of this was provided on the day President Eisenhower delivered his speech.

It was then announced that the Defence Department had decided to reject a British tender for the provision of transformers and generators for the Chief Joseph Dam being built on the Columbia river. This tender was a million dollars lower than any American offer.

Not only on a business basis, but from the standpoint of State policy, the British tender was the one to accept. There is the constant problem arising of how Europe is to be able to pay for imports from America without reasonable facilities for exporting goods to America.

Mr. Charles E. (General Motors) Wilson, the Defence Secretary, was the principal instrument in subordinating State Department policy on this question to American business interests.

Where an armaments programme has reached the dimensions of that being pursued in the USA the interests involved and ready to act are tremendous.

Mr. Dulles to sponsor a Bevanite policy?

IT was something of a political paradox that the Bevan view on armaments expenditure was rejected

Leaves from a notebook . . .

THERE is no doubt that the African's use of non-violent resistance against racial laws has stirred the conscience of churchmen in Britain.

Twelve clergy and laymen, The Freedom and Unity Group, have been discussing the use of this method and have declared the Passive Resistance Movement in S. Africa "a bold attempt, which Christians should support, to deal with grave evils and iniquitous legislation."

The Church of England Newspaper (March 6) gave a full page spread to a statement by a member of the Group who said:

"We are bound to admit, as Christians, that there are times when resistance to lawful authority is not only permissible, but a duty."

I look forward to the Freedom and Unity Group getting round to the discussion of non-violent resistance for the defence of Britain. They sound like people who could make a valuable contribution to an aspect of the subject on which a great deal more serious thinking is required.

NATO UPSIDE DOWN

HOW my heart warms to Mrs. C. of Des Moines, Iowa, USA.

In a hurry to get her subscription to PN renewed she found she had only just enough postage stamps in the house. Her last three-cent stamp was a "NATO" commemorative issue.

She stuck it on the envelope upside down and added this note to her letter.

"I do not like this NATO stamp but haven't enough others, so put it on upside down, the way we'd like to see the whole business."

So there was NATO upside down with three heads of Jefferson, one of George Washington and another of John Adams as upright as many of the principles for

BEHIND THE NEWS

by his own Party and led to his resignation from the Labour Government, only to be adopted because of the hard pressure of economic facts by a Conservative Party in power.

We may now see the even greater paradox of a EByanist policy being adopted by the Republican party in America.

Despite the great concern of Wall Street interests that people shall not "be fooled" by an end to the fighting in Korea, and that the over-all armaments programme shall not be altered, an article in the New York Times (April 8, 1953) suggests that Mr. Dulles, Secretary of State, will be going to the North Atlantic Treaty Council meeting in Paris on April 23 with a restatement of the American defence policy which will carry with it a substantial reduction in foreign, military and economic aid.

"The Administration, proceeding on the principle that this country's economic potential was its basic strength will shape its defence production on a time-table of one to three decades. Defence spending will be related to the need of maintaining a sound economy."

The idea that there is any crucial year of danger to be met—1954 has been frequently suggested—will be abandoned.

The abandoning of this conception, however, means the falsification of some of the major assumptions upon which American policy has been based. What is proposed it seems is to dispense with these assumptions but maintain the policy.

We may hope however that this process of re-thinking on policy has not reached its conclusion, and that there may be even more radical adjustments both on that side of the Atlantic and on this.

Green light for fascism in South Africa

OLIVER CALDECOTT writes: Dr. Malan's Nationalist Party has been swept back into office with a majority more than twice that which it enjoyed in the previous S. African Parliament and a greatly increased popular support among the white electorate.

Although still a "minority" government—over 50 per cent of the voters indicated a preference for the Opposition parties—the "weighted" rural vote, the virtual unanimity of the Afrikaner electors for their party and the weak and vacillating policy of the United Party were sufficient to renew Malan's mandate and to throw into the melting pot the future of the whole liberal-conservative-labour opposition alliance which can no longer be expected to hold together as a political force.

One hoped for a Nationalist defeat for three reasons:

1. Because, with certain awful exceptions, United Party governments have never exacerbated race relations so badly or so deliberately as the Nationalists;
2. Because the totalitarian republicanism, the obscurantism and bigotry of the Nationalists were not features of

which they stood (Philatelists can work out the values of the stamps she used—no prizes).

Incidentally I am indebted to this American reader for the following quotation from the eighteenth century philosopher, Montesquieu:

"If I knew something beneficial to myself but harmful to my family, I would drive it out of my mind. If I knew something advantageous to my family but injurious to my country, I would try to forget it. If I knew something profitable to my country but detrimental to the human race, I would consider it a crime."

"CROSS OUT BOLDLY . . ."

HIGHGATE (London) Peace Pledge Union Group are leaving nothing to chance in their efforts to increase the sales of Peace News.

To every member has gone a questionnaire, the preamble to which states:

"We, your committee, feel that every member of this Group must take Peace News as a matter of elementary duty and loyalty. If we are wrong, we would like to know from you."

The member is asked to fill in the following, and to "cross out boldly whatever does not apply."

1. I buy Peace News regularly;
2. I do not buy Peace News at present, and
- (a) I do not intend to take it. State why.
- (b) Repentantly, I hereby promise to take Peace News from this week. State how.

Peace Pledge Union Headquarters have now printed a similar leaflet for use by other groups.

Peacemaker

the United Party which, with its English, Afrikaner, and Jewish membership, represented a greater degree of tolerance;

3. Because certain class and sectional interests in the United Party had, to some measure, a sympathy for such policies as the unionisation, urbanisation and technical advancement of the African worker, the classic prerequisites of evolution from feudalism to capitalist democracy.

But, with Mau Mau, the Gold Coast, India, Communism and the United Nations, bolster their appeal the Nationalists were irresistible. The stage is set in South Africa for the indoctrination of the young for the rigging of the electoral system to perpetuate Nationalist rule, for the unification of the "White front" against the "Black menace," for the incorporation of the protectorates, for the establishment of some form of republic and, inevitably, less the moral and moderate counsel of sanity and principle prevail—for the New of Long Knives.

The Defiance Campaign

AT a press conference held by Mr. Albert Luthuli, pacifist President of African National Congress, and Mr. Yusuf Cachalia, secretary of Indian National Congress, in Johannesburg this week a statement was issued calling upon whites in South Africa to join with the oppressed peoples in a "relentless struggle for the fundamental human rights of freedom of speech, association and movement."

The statement was prepared during week-end conference of the organisation participating in the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign. It said that there was a middle course for the country. The choice was either to side with the Nationalists to join the non-white people in the struggle for freedom and full democracy. The hope of the freedom-loving people of South Africa lay in a non-violent struggle against injustice.

The next phase of non-violent resistance would probably be in the industrial field said Chief Luthuli; strikes and boycotts would not be ruled out, but they would be "always within the framework of non-violence." Asked about the possibility of any connection with Mau Mau, Mr. Luthuli said they were sympathetic to the legitimate struggle of Africans everywhere, but excluded the Mau Mau movement because of its violence.

Gromyko for Moscow

THE appointment of Mr. Gromyko as first deputy foreign minister may well be a further indication of Soviet readiness to reopen discussions on the future of Germany.

Not only will he have gained some knowledge of the British attitude during his short time as ambassador here but is much more conversant with European affairs in general and Germany in particular than most other Russian leaders.

Jacob Malik who is to succeed him at the Soviet Embassy in London was for years the permanent Soviet delegate at the United Nations and is, therefore, a student of British foreign policy and no stranger to those who have represented Britain at UN.

Cardinal Stepinac

HUBERT BUTLER sends the following comment:

The Yugoslav government has recently forbidden Cardinal Stepinac to give interviews to journalists on the ground that, as a convicted war criminal, he is abusing freedom in order to undermine the government's authority.

Though he is out of prison and living quietly in his native village of Krasitch, he is as much a focus of angry and conflicting emotions as before. The Cardinal, who does not appear to have been sent into any pacific intentions and was perhaps the principal cause of the Yugoslav breach with the Vatican and the revival of accusations about the terrible compulsory conversion campaign of 1941.

Depressingly, no serious attempt has been made to piece together impartially the true facts though the campaign is more richly documented than any former totalitarian crusade.

In the Zagreb papers of the period one can see the exact extent of the suppression that was given to the crusade by the Catholic hierarchy.

Roughly speaking one may say that the bishops were enthusiastic about the Cardinal's advent to power an admirable opportunity of extending the domain of the Catholic Church but were horrified when they found by what brutal methods the campaign was to be conducted. It was then too late for them to withdraw their support. No one was excommunicated and I do not think that the official Orthodox claim that 250,000 were forcibly coerced into the Catholic Church can be far off the truth.

Why have not the ordinary Christians of Europe demanded an enquiry into these horrors? Why has it been left to the Communists to prosecute and the Vatican to defend. It concerns us all. Hitherto, because the West is frightened of helping Communism we have been slow in demanding the truth, but our fears have helped no one.

Had there been a Christian demand for an investigation, I believe that Cardinal Stepinac would have been quietly withdrawn by the Vatican from Yugoslavia. He would never have become a prisoner. He would never have become a Cardinal. There would have been one storm centre the less in our turbulent world.

ONLY Hiroshima American and a paci become Crown Pri

"The idea himself," w "Windows book in whic An America Occupation. Japan some just how ext peror, who decisions of take the ini Mrs. Vinin was to teac direct metho quater, she Quaker, Mis

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GANDHI, SCHWEITZER AND PIERRE CERESOLE
SLIPPED EASILY INTO THE SYLLABUS

A Pacifist teaches a Crown Prince

By HUGH BROCK

ONLY fourteen months after the dropping of the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, an American woman who is a Quaker and a pacifist sailed from the U.S. to become private tutor to the Japanese Crown Prince, Akihito.

"The idea proceeded from the Emperor himself," writes Elizabeth Gray Vining in "Windows for the Crown Prince," the book in which she describes her experiences. An American tutor was not imposed by the Occupation. Not until she had been in Japan some time did Mrs. Vining realize just how extraordinary it was for the Emperor, who traditionally accepted the decisions of the experts about his son, to take the initiative in this way.

Mrs. Vining, who did not speak Japanese, was to teach the Prince English by the direct method. As secretary and interpreter, she had the services of a Japanese Quaker, Miss Tané Takahashi.

Pupils

On a grey autumn day, Mrs. Vining entered the unheated, bomb-damaged and dirty school to be introduced to the Crown Prince's class by the Middle School principal, Mr. Iwata. He told Mrs. Vining that he would make a speech of welcome, and that all she had to do was to bow in return. "But I would like to answer it," said Mrs. Vining. Little wonder that four years later, when Japanese rearmament was in the air, some of those students wrote saying how well they remembered that short speech, for this is what Mrs. Vining said:

"I am happy to be here after my long journey. I appreciate deeply the welcome I have received and the thoughtful kindness with which my coming has been prepared for. I think today is a day we should all remember. In myself I am not in the least important, but the fact that I am here this morning is a sign of something very important. That your Emperor asked me to come at this time and my government helped me to do it, is something new in the world and something hopeful.

"The chief reason why I wanted to come is that in her new constitution, Japan has renounced war as an instrument of national policy. Other nations must follow. I believe that out of her great suffering and defeat Japan will draw a new strength and a new vision that will enable her to lead the world in ways of peace.

"You are the generation that will have to do it. Your job will be to create a world in which every human being can develop the best there is in him, a world in which free men can work together for the good of all. I come to you in friendship and in the hope that I can take a small share in helping your many distinguished teachers to prepare you for your great task."

After the ceremony, Mrs. Vining read a translation of Mr. Iwata's speech, which concluded: "We hear that Mrs. Vining is

Michael Joseph, 15s. Published in the U.S. by Lippincott, \$4.00.

WHAT A BARGAIN!

FLATTER myself on being always the little gentleman. So when anyone asks me, "Is Man a Thinking Animal?" I reply, "Look at the Budget." It's a polite way of saying, "No, he isn't."

Anyway, let's look at a few Budgets. In 1935 8s. in every £ went to social services and 5s. 2d. to arms. In 1950 8s. 7d. went to social services and 4s. 6d. to arms. In 1952 8s. will go to social services and 2d. to arms.

This means that year by year we are paying proportionately more for "defence", despite the fact that year by year it becomes increasingly obvious that nobody is threatening us.

Now the fact that our fellow-countrymen accept this situation proves incontestably that man is not a thinking animal. He has brains, just as a slug has brains; but the difference between a man and a slug is that a slug uses his brains for self-preservation while man uses his for self-destruction—neither of which operations can be truthfully described as thinking.

Nevertheless, man does possess the ability to think, and it is worth while trying to persuade him to do so, if for no other reason than that if a sufficient number of men would apply their thinking apparatus to the international situation it would reduce taxation by 8s. 2d. in the £, or an average of 11s. 6d. per head per week. It is therefore pretty clear that, by paying us 4d. a week, Average Man could save himself 11s. 6d. a week. Surely the father and mother of all bargains.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Contributions since April 10: £15 11s. 3d. Total for 1953: £200 19s. 11d. Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

such an understanding teacher. I imagine that she will teach you with Christian love. You will, I hope, return her love by following her teaching earnestly, faithfully, with respect and adoration."

"When I read this speech," writes Mrs. Vining, "I wondered, as I was so often to wonder, whether, had the situation been reversed and a Japanese woman had come to teach in an American boys' school, she would have received an introduction so designed to build up the respect and co-operation of the students."

One is not surprised to find that in the four years that followed, Gandhi, Schweitzer, and Pierre Ceresole (founder of the International Voluntary Service for Peace) slipped easily into the syllabus when the Crown Prince was to study: "Great Men and Women of the Twentieth Century."

Mrs. Vining stoutly resisted pressure from Church groups to convert her pupil to Christianity. "I never tried to indoctrinate him with any specific dogma. I tried only to expose him to the best that I knew. Religion, I have always felt, must be caught before it is taught, and democracy is learned at least as much through living and doing as through an intellectual understanding of its theory."

People

Mrs. Vining was told by the Emperor's Grand Steward: "We want you to open windows on to a wider world for our Crown Prince." Readers of this book, however, will find that she has also opened windows for those in the West.

"But these are not the Japs we knew as guards and torturers in the hell-camps," former British prisoners-of-war may object.

"There is no doubt that these things were done," writes Mrs. Vining of the excesses and outrages committed by the Japanese Army and Navy. "All who have come to love and respect the Japanese people must accept the fact which they find difficult to explain: that people so self-controlled, courteous, and kindly in their daily dealings with others could be in warfare so arrogant and so cruel. The explanation lies in the words 'in warfare'. War makes beasts of us all. The American people still are in happy ignorance of atrocities committed by our own men in the Pacific. Whether there were many, I do not know. I have heard only whispers, and a single instance, told me by a captain in the U.S. Navy, which I wish I could erase from my memory."

Emperor

The Emperor's protest, when as a constitutional monarch he was informed of the Cabinet's unanimous decision to go to war in 1941 is recorded by Mrs. Vining:

"He expressed his opposition by reciting (to the Ministers) a poem by the Emperor Meiji, which has always been taken as a great expression of the desire for peace.

Surely in this world men are brothers all
One family!

Then why do winds and waves on all the seas
Rage stormily?

The Emperor is said to have recited this twice, with feeling, and then turned and left the room.

"The Ministers there assembled were deeply moved by the Emperor's action and went away shaken in their purpose, but when their colleagues and subordinates, who had not been there, got at them, they stiffened again in their determination to make war," writes Mrs. Vining.

The closing months of Mrs. Vining's extended contract with the Imperial Court saw the outbreak of war in Korea, and the growing prospects of a betrayal of Japan's constitution.

"I asked: 'What about the national police reserve? Are they policemen or are they an army?' There was a moment's silence in the room, then someone answered: 'Nobody has called them an army—yet.'"

Farewell

The Crown Prince and his brother, Masahito, came down to Yokohama harbour to bid Mrs. Vining farewell. Forty Press photographers surrounded them and after several handshakings had been photographed, Mrs. Vining thought the Press men had finished but there was a chorus of Japanese protests which she did not understand. "They want us to shake hands again," said the Crown Prince, in English, and they went laughing through the procedure once more.

Impressed, Tané Takahashi turned to Mrs. Vining and said: "Did you realise that the Crown Prince was interpreting for you?"

A—bomb aftermath

A survey of school-children recently conducted by teachers in atom-bombed Nagasaki has disclosed some disturbing features. Mental backwardness is observable among children who were within two miles of the centre of the atomic explosion in 1945. While physical development was only slightly retarded, indecisiveness and lack of boldness were noticed among children affected by radiation.

HOW EUROPE RULES AFRICA

By Fenner Brockway, M.P.

VERNON BARTLETT often irritates me. His articles in the News Chronicle are so safe, so indefinite, so on-the-fence. The more readily, therefore, I acknowledge the value of his book, "Struggle for Africa" (Frederick Muller, 18s.).

His conclusions are still inadequate; but he is objective and immensely informative. Modestly he says he is not an expert, and it is true that others have written more authoritatively about particular territories and problems. But no one has painted a clearer picture of the entire Continent.

It is urgent that we should see this picture. There is some hope that we are moving away from the Cold War but who can be confident that we are not moving towards a Colour War? European behaviour in Africa will decide.

There are less than five million Europeans in Africa. There are 160 million Africans, including 25 million Arabs in the North. One must not forget the half million Asians—mostly Indians and Pakistanis—who outnumber the Europeans in East Africa and are important in South Africa.

So far the one-in-thirty Europeans have dominated the coloured millions by their

"Nice people"

By V. P. UNDERWOOD

"NICE people" populate the world. With a few diseased exceptions, any individual you meet in any country wants chiefly to earn his living, raise his family in the best home he can afford, and live at peace with everybody. Yet every "civilised" country devotes most of its resources to "defence" against other nice people, or to paying for past "defence" against them or others. Some nice people are at this moment killing other nice people on the territory of a third set of nice people (defence is no longer conducted on one's own or enemy soil, but preferably on that of a third party who can't keep one out). So well have civilised countries "sold" violent defence of sovereignty, that long-peaceful "backward" ones now leap into the mad arena.

The nice people we meet would not willingly commit murder and robbery. Yet the overwhelming majority accept and glory in these things when ordered by the state. But the state is not some abstract mechanism in which we bear no part. *L'état c'est moi*. It functions by consent of a vast number of men and women with wills of their own, or else without that consent till the wills join up in a movement of public opinion. When wars were waged mostly by adventurers on behalf of irresponsible rulers, there were excuses for nice people not knowing what the state did in their name. But the greater our share in government, the greater our responsibility. In modern total war everyone takes part: the virgin with a cross on her throat who fills some beautiful bomb, murders women and children as readily as the youth who cheerfully unloads it on some distant town and reports to base in the latest slang.

★ ★ ★

What causes individually nice people to become collectively monsters? Not irreligion: Christians rush to the flag as promptly as unbelievers, the enemy always being charged with intending to destroy religion. Nor is it wholly "crowd psychology." In a herd, undoubtedly, the individual loses inhibitions that would normally keep his lower proclivities in check. Few of the mob who screamed "Crucify!" would individually have dared demand that good man's death. Legislators who vote astronomical rearmament, ministers who demand it and will, when all seems ready, order murder to begin, most of those are individually the kindest of men, model husbands and fathers—when "defence" allows them to be at home at all. But they send millions of young men to kill and be killed when afraid of another nation's political ideas, as if the violence they so firmly believe in, despite their protestations, could defend against ideas. Nor is wholesale waste of one's own or the enemy's economic resources a rational way of gaining advantages never far from the minds that cry for arms to defend ideals.

The tragically ridiculous situation is due to humanity's obstinate blindness to the connection between what we do and what happens to us. The inexorable alternation of seed-time and harvest is as true of man's inhumanity as of God's bounty. We ignore the chain connecting our thoughts and actions with their consequences, or expect Providence to break it for our benefit. We repeat that heavy absurdity *si vis pacem para bellum* and expect the most sounder

education, their industrial and administrative skill, and their arms; but that day is nearly over. Although only a minority of Africans are educated and industrially expert, a passion for racial liberation is sweeping over the greater part of the Continent, and this century will see it achieved.

The greatest value which I find in Vernon Bartlett's book is his description of the four different patterns of European domination.

The S. African Pattern

In South Africa the non-Europeans are excluded from all political rights, they may do no skilled industrial work, the colour bar is rigid, and they are restricted, unless they carry passes, to particular reserves and locations.

The Belgian Pattern

In Belgian Congo, probably the richest territory in Africa, there is despotic rule, no one has the right to vote and the Governor nominates all the members of his advisory council which has a white majority. But the twelve million Africans and the 76,000 Europeans (three-quarters of them are Belgians) probably live in greater material comfort than the Africans and Europeans of any tropical country. The Government does not encourage white settlers, and the Europeans are mostly temporary political and administrative officials.

Bartlett describes the Colony as Belgium's Managerial Revolution; but, despite the aim to preserve a contented labour force, including opportunities to learn the skilled trades, political nationalism is developing. More and more Africans are demanding democratic rights. Their movement is crushed ruthlessly. In 1951 there were more than 3,000 deportations of political agitators.

The French Pattern

The third method of European domination is practised by the French and Portuguese. The French, who occupy not only part of the African coast in the Mediterranean but areas in West and Central Africa which are ten times as large as France itself, aim at assimilating these territories with their metropolitan administration; they permit a small minority of the population to elect representatives to their parliament in Paris. Their failure in North Africa is now world-known through United Nations attention; Morocco and Tunisia are moving towards self-government and Algeria will follow, even though the French settlers fight for their privileges to the end.

French West and Equatorial Africa are not territories where Europeans want to settle and in consequence there has been African political advance. In Equatorial Africa, in addition to representation in both Houses of the French Parliament in Paris, there is an African majority on the Governor's Grand Council. But the people are severely exploited economically.

The Portuguese encourage the educated Africans in their territory, twenty times the size of Portugal itself, to regard themselves as Portuguese. This minority is on the same footing as the white citizens and elects three members of the National Assembly in Lisbon. The Advisory Council of the Governor is 50-50 African and Portuguese. There is no colour bar and no bar to skilled occupations. The great majority of the Africans continue their traditional tribal life and there is little interference with them. There is as yet virtually no African Nationalism. But as Portuguese Africa becomes developed industrially these conditions cannot remain.

The British Pattern

Finally there is the British pattern. Theoretically we have accepted the principle of self-government, and in territories which do not enjoy the blessing of white settlers, uneasy progress towards democratic rule is being made. But in Central Africa and Kenya, African political rights are negligible and Asian rights are little greater. Educationally, medically and economically, the conditions of the Africans in British Africa, though progress has been made, are appalling.

Of the four patterns the British is the best; but we have not yet realized how the decision to impose a European domination on Federated Central Africa repudiates the principle of self-government which is our declared objective. By this action Britain has adopted the South African and the Belgian patterns rather than the historic British pattern. We have not yet ourselves appreciated the significance of what has happened.

But none of these patterns of white domination can prevent the political emancipation of the African people, nor ultimately their social and economic emancipation. This is part of the history of our time. The real issue is the character of the course along which it will be realized. Is it to be with European goodwill and co-operation or with our resistance?

★ Continued page seven

A PRAYER OF St. FRANCIS

WRITTEN 600 YEARS AGO.

Lord, make me a channel of Thy Peace;
That where there is hatred I may bring Love;
That where there is wrong I may bring the Spirit of Forgiveness.
That where there is discord I may bring Harmony.
That where there is error I may bring Truth;
That where there is doubt I may bring Faith;
That where there is despair I may bring Hope;
That where there is darkness I may bring Thy Light;
That where there is sadness I may bring Joy.

Lord, grant that I may seek rather to comfort than to be comforted; To understand than to be understood; To love rather than to be loved.

For it is by giving that one receives;
It is by self-forgetting that one finds;
It is by forgiving that one is forgiven;
It is by dying that one awakens into eternal life.

Poet of the Inner Life

Tree of Knowledge, by Vivien Cutting. Newtown. Montgomeryshire Printing Co., Ltd. 3s. 6d.

LIKE so much verse that is introspective, Vivien Cutting writes her poetry more for the purposes of record than direct communication.

The fact that it attempts a record of the most hidden, subtle and ill-defined parts of the soul will probably result in its being dubbed "obscure modern poetry." But it seems to me to be a not sufficiently recognised fact that clarity in verse is dependent to some extent upon its subject.

The hidden places are often only half-glimpsed, and even when fully seen contain in themselves baffling contradictions. This makes them a no less valuable subject, and at least some readers will find themselves at home in a world whose boundaries are indefinite. "To move," as Vivien Cutting says, "on love's dark wheel, and not to know what thing it is I love;" that is, after all the experience of many of us.

But Vivien Cutting is a Christian. The title poem, "Tree of Knowledge" has a biblical subject, vitally and originally treated. The result of disobedience:

... a paradise of separate beauties,
strangers
Watching each other, intent and im-
prisoned
In acres of lonely waiting ...

"Tree of Knowledge" may appeal only to a few, but those few will receive much. To the author, in her own words, I would say:

"Ah, do not, do not (alas) cease singing."

GWYNETH ANDERSON.

Catholics and war

Catholics and International War by John Nibb 8pp. (from the author: BM/JONIB, London, W.C.1, 4d. post. free).

READERS who are interested in the recent Peace News articles on the attitude to pacifism of the various church denominations, will be glad to have this little pamphlet which deals briefly but clearly with the largest denomination of all—the Roman Catholics.

Other churches are inclined to rely on their latest decision as expressing the official attitude, whatever may have transpired in the past, but the vast weight of tradition, the theory of infallibility and the need to reconcile apparently contradictory interpretations makes the Romanist position very complicated. Mr. Nibb's rather ruthless use of logic does seem to clear things up a little.

T.R.D.

* * * The record of
* * * British conscientious objection
* * * during the second war
* * * has been published by
* * * the Central Board for
* * * Conscientious Objectors
* * * at its own expense, in the belief
* * * that an authoritative history
* * * would be a contribution to
* * * war-resistance itself.
* * * Have you read it?
* * * "Challenge of Conscience"
* * * is obtainable through any
* * * bookseller, price 15/-, or
* * * 15/8d. postage paid from
* * * the C.B.C.O.,
* * * 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1

Americans who would not fight

By DENIS HAYES

Conscription of Conscience by Mulford Q. Sibley and Philip E. Jacob. Cornell University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege); 42s.

IT gives great pleasure to welcome this "official" history of the conscientious objectors of America in the Second World War.

In 1941 the Rockefeller Foundation made a grant to Cornell University for research in civil liberty during the war, and conscientious objection was one of the subjects chosen. Mulford Sibley and Philip Jacob, university professors in the CO Movement, were in effect put upon their honour to provide an unbiased account of what took place; and how magnificently and with what obvious loving care they have carried out their task!

This book, which is beautifully produced, runs to some 480 pages of text and over a hundred pages of "end-matter"; those who take their world sympathies seriously must clearly be referred to the volume itself, since it is impossible to do justice in these columns, restricted as they are, to the years of academic toil and sweat that have gone to make up "Conscription of Conscience." Only a few general impressions are possible.

Limited recognition

Like public opinion itself, the Movement in America had not attained that maturity which brings the quiet assurance that in the long run everything will work out, if not for the best, at any rate reasonably. There were severe growing pains.

The objection of conscience, though old, was so much against the broad flow of the American way of life, that there were virtually no "elder statesmen" in public affairs, and particularly in the political sphere, to champion the cause of the CO, whether from sympathy or libertarian conviction.

Imagine the British scene without a single Peer or MP prepared to raise matters of conscience, without a single person in political life—even a Herbert Morrison—who had been a CO in the years before and at least understood from personal experience what it was all about. So when the conscription legislation was under debate all approaches had to be made privately in advance, with no-one prepared to challenge on the Floor of the House the half-truths and prejudices put forward on behalf of the Veterans and the super-patriots. Hence it was impossible to obtain a greater degree of exemption than for non-combatant duties or work in a Civilian Public Service Camp without pay for the duration. And even then it was only for those who by reason of religious training or belief were conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form. So that the absolutist, the non-religious, the ethical, the philosophical, the rationalist and the political objector were in effect consigned to prison, though the humanitarian was sufficiently close to the religious ticket to get by.

The Camps themselves were run by the historic peace churches under a somewhat ill-defined agreement entered into with the Government at the beginning of the war. The "second-milers" in these churches—which included Quakers—had shown their desire to serve the community by undertaking all financial responsibility for running the Camps and in return they were given a degree of independence that tended to get smaller and smaller as the studios Dr. Dykstra gave way to General Hershey and his attendant Colonels. The wisdom of this co-operation was the subject of the most keenly-fought controversy of the Movement and the otherwise objective Sibley and Jacob here find it necessary to put forward separate personal views as the only honest way of dealing with the situation.

Long prison sentences

The Tribunal position approximated to the British scene of 1916 in that there were no separate boards to deal with conscience but all claims to exemption were lumped together indiscriminately and referred to a committee of theoretical neighbours who, displaying most of the merits and faults one would expect, asked the same questions as all other Tribunals have done since the first member asked, perhaps in Hebrew or Greek or Latin, what the objector would do in the face of a barbarian savagely brandishing a stick. At the same time I was surprised at the degree of tolerance which the American people, according to the authors, seem to have displayed towards the young men who asked for "IV-E."

It was, however, no surprise to learn of the sometimes bitter strife between the "service-men" and the "witness-men" (this has so often marred the record in Britain as elsewhere, nor of the differences of view-point between the non-resisters (who would turn the other cheek) and the non-violent resisters (who would do everything but slap it), so that the difficulty of formulating any common policy for a movement that included Jehovah's Witnesses, Left Wing socialists and philosophers as well as the more orthodox objectors was just as pronounced in the United States as in Britain.

COs, too, sometimes tended to be introspective and not always attuned to the

suffering around them, like the local preacher in the England of 1910 who prayed for the enemy but forgot to include the sons of the congregation. Gandhian and anarchist influences were fairly strong, while the prison terms that so frequently attended such views were long and without a great deal of hope for the future.

The British equivalent of "Conscription of Conscience" is, of course, the Central Board's "Challenge of Conscience," which I do not feel qualified to compare save to say that the British publication is shorter and does not deal nearly so adequately with the social implications of conscientious objection, though you would never find its author becoming a professor—let alone two! On the other hand, the Rockefeller origin of the American work has meant that the authors have had to sacrifice that "bite" of style, which might throw such a work out of focus. Only in Sibley's personal views on pages 471-473, does this cut-and-thrust appear. The American book, too, is without pictures.

To sum up, if you want to widen and deepen your understanding of pacifism in war-time, you cannot do better than invest two guineas on a volume that will be a permanent asset to your books, though readers north of the Tweed in particular may prefer to press their libraries to make the considerable dollar expenditure necessary on their behalf.

Many American COs who did land work were isolated from the large population areas—where their idea that war is wrong could more easily be spread—and sent to Civilian Public Service Camps. The picture shows the camp at Colorado Springs.



"QUAKERS VISIT RUSSIA" REPRINTED AGAIN

"Quakers Visit Russia" (Ed. Kathleen Lonsdale, Friends House, 3s. 6d.) has now been reprinted for the third time since its publication last July.

It is quite a short book—only 145 pages; it makes no claim to solve the enigma of Russian policies; yet it is a book of unique importance for every person who wishes to understand the contemporary situation in Russia.

Its importance lies almost less in the material in the book than in the credentials of those who have collaborated to produce it. For most of us—who have never been to Russia and probably never even seen a Russian—there seems to be no way of judging between the two opposing sets of "facts" with which we are presented in current newspapers and books. On whose word, and perhaps even more important, on whose judgement, can we rely?

It is perhaps because the Quakers have such a high reputation, not only for sincerity but also for powers of critical judgement and mature understanding, that this report on the visit of seven Quakers to Russia in 1951, is reaching a comparatively wide public. As Paul Cadbury records in his diary "we leaned over backwards not to get carried away by any enthusiasm for what we had seen."

This is certainly the impression one gets when reading: that the visitors to Russia received every experience with sympathy and open minds, but yet accepted none at its face value; that every comment, every word was carefully weighed before being written down. The result is a model of intelligent and reliable reportage. Particularly is this true of the short chapter headed "The Peace Campaign. Is it Genuine?"

What it lacks in sensationalism, the book makes up for in vividness and readability. We get impressions of Moscow streets, of a prison, a mine and a chocolate factory near Moscow, a monastery in Kiev. Above all we get the impression, as did the writers themselves, that life in the USSR is much more "normal" than we thought it would be, and by "normal" we mean in our usual way, "more like it is in Western Europe."

M.M.

Civilisations

Civilisations. A quarterly revue (International Institute of Differing Civilisations, 36s. per annum).

This is a quarterly magazine of some 160 pp. issued by the Institute of Differing Civilisations, an organisation formed to promote the scientific study, on the political and social planes, of the problems arising from the encounter of different civilisations, and to disseminate as widely as possible the knowledge so gained.

This is a workmanlike approach to what will certainly be the major problem facing mankind for centuries to come, and in a shorter time than now seems possible, make nationalism a thing of the past, for as current events are warning us, race culture, civilisations divide men far more deeply than national frontiers can.

The Revue prints its articles in either French or English, sometimes in both, and while some of them make rather heavy going for the ordinary reader, they are important and rewarding if one struggles on: the subject is not capable of light and "popular" treatment. The current issue (Vol. II, No. 1) contains an article on the Biological Foundation of Society by Dr. R. A. Bergman, anthropologist at the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam, a series of articles on the unification and modernisation of languages in various countries, and Economic and Financial Surveys from different parts of the world.

T. R. D.



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This was the population which lined the streets for Hitler in their hundreds of thousands "and cheered him frantically. Hitler was part of the price of war."

PERCY REDFERN.

International catalogue

OVER a thousand periodicals are now being published by international non-governmental organisations. Covering all fields of human activity, they provide material for specialist and general reader alike.

Hitherto no attempt has been made to produce a comprehensive reference book which would serve as a guide to such publications. The deficiency is being met by the Union of International Associations (UIA), a non-profit making scientific institute set up in Brussels in 1910, aiming at the collection and dissemination of information on international non-governmental organisations and their work. Its representative in the United Kingdom is Mr. E. S. Tew, of 91 Lyndhurst Gardens, Finchley, London, N.3.

The UIA has been assembling data on the subject for many years, and its handbook on Periodicals Issued by International Non-Governmental Organisations will contain, in addition to bibliographical details, a summary analysis of the contents of each publication. UNESCO is making a grant towards printing costs, and the handbook should appear in May, 1953.

Textbook for Christian Peacemakers

By Patrick Figgis

"The New Testament Basis of Pacifism." G. H. C. Macgregor, DD, D.Litt. For. 7s. 6d.

SOME books never become out of date. Try to get a second hand copy of any of Edward Bevan's books for instance, and one soon finds it out. They are still the books that any teacher of the Christian religion wants to have on his shelves. Similarly "The New Testament Basis of Pacifism," a remarkable and comprehensive book by Dr. G. H. C. Macgregor (Fol. 7s. 6d.) is as important today as it was when it was first published in 1936.

This is a book to give to your Minister, to suggest to your library, or to buy for yourself, if you wish to be in a position to commend Christian pacifism to your friends.

Chapter 11 explains the background and meaning of some of the sayings and incidents in the Gospels which are sometimes thought to support the non-pacifist Christian position—the cleansing of the Temple, the commendation of the Roman centurion and the saying "Think not that I am come to send peace on the earth, I am come not to send peace but a sword."

But fewer people are interested in such passages than formerly; and the book contains still more important material. I have marked three passages.

(1) The Sermon on the Mount: the most widely read, vigorously discussed and variously interpreted passages in all literature. How did Jesus intend these sayings to be interpreted? Are they recorded here as he said them? Have they been "coloured" by Matthew? Most of us will benefit by reading here what Dr. Macgregor has to say.

(2) Christ and Caesar—the conflict of loyalties towards God and the State. "Render unto Caesar the things that are

Caesar's and to God . . ." What was the attitude in this matter that the first century Christians adopted in the Roman Empire. And why did they adopt it? Why do Christians in different countries differ on the subject today? Are "the powers that be" always to be regarded as "ordained of God" or does it depend on the kind of government that is exercised? Unfortunately still a timely subject.

(3) The three different positions held by Christians today—pacifist, non pacifist, and a line down the middle (the position held by the Bishop of Chichester and others). This is the subject dealt with in the last chapter that has been rewritten for the new edition. It is helpful to learn how the Just War teaching has now been left behind by many non-pacifists, as shown at the Amsterdam conference, and to realise that there is no longer one non-pacifist position.

This is a book of which the substance (unless the world becomes pacifist) will never be out of date.

Grim warning

By ROBERT GREACEN

Prophecy of Famine by H. J. Massingham and Edward Hyams. Thames and Hudson, 12s. 6d.

THERE is in a sense a curious duality about this grim warning, for the late H. J. Massingham was a conservative (with a small "c") while Edward Hyams is a Socialist (with a capital "S"). Yet both men agreed that unless present agricultural trends are quickly set in reverse, within a generation this country, with its huge industrial population, may face starvation. They say:

... not only is Britain increasingly less able to get her living and fill her stomach by trade; the world population is rising by 20 millions a year and the world food resources shrinking by perhaps as many acres.

They outline various methods by which Britain may come more nearly to feeding herself: the terracing of mountains, and the reclaiming of estuaries, marshes and other "bad lands." They deal, too, with the radical re-adjustments in social and political thinking that would need to be made. Most of us will agree when they say, incidentally, that in teaching children history the stress should be on man as *homo faber* not *homo militaris*—workman rather than soldier. And the two authors are less than happy about War Office and Air Ministry maltreatment of good agricultural land.

They are, I feel, on surer ground in analysing the causes of our present predicament over food supplies than in their proposals to make Britain more self-supporting. We still suffer fairly directly from the excessive and ugly mass-production of the last century and a half. But that fact cannot now be rapidly undone by thinking passively of how nice it would be to have a peasant nation eating its own food, drinking village-brewed beer and skipping round the maypole. In fairness to the authors, however, the title picture is by no means overdrawn. They are too intelligent for that. But their book is a basis for further thought, rather than a clear-cut blueprint for action.

Nevertheless we cannot have too many books that fight against the easy acceptance of a Britain going on and on to perpetuity as the "workshop of the world." The outside world has started a lot of its own workshops—more often than not sweatshops that can undercut Britain in the big markets. But no new competition has replaced that of Britain indifferently making razor blades, pens and ornaments for a few countries. In the final event, as "Prophecy of Famine" reminds us, the country could get on without the town, but not the town without the country.

India's fight against poverty

A VAST UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

By Geoffrey Carnall

New Citizens of India, by Horace Alexander. Geoffrey Cumberlege, 8s. 6d.

THE riots and massacres that occurred in India and Pakistan in 1947 caused a migration of Hindus out of West Pakistan, and of Muslims out of some parts of western India.

Horace Alexander's book is mainly concerned with the work that has been done to resettle the five million refugees from West Pakistan.

Its interest is wider, however, than the subject might suggest. People discuss the economic development of "backward countries" very much in the abstract. The day-to-day problems of governments and people in these countries are not much understood. For this reason, Horace Alexander's book is particularly welcome.

He outlines one of the most serious immediate problems that confront the Indian government, and in showing what has been done to deal with it throws a lot of light on the circumstances in which economic development is having to take place.

It is in fact a vast unemployment problem, complicated by various psychological difficulties. It is not easy for uprooted people to take to new ways of earning their living, especially when this means accepting a lower social status.

Hindus in the Muslim majority areas tended to be "middle class"—traders and landowners rather than peasant cultivators.

The influx of Hindu refugees has therefore aggravated the severe competition that already existed in India's distributing trades. The obvious way out is to train these people in productive work; and in spite of the difficulties, the achievement that Horace Alexander records is an impressive one.

Readers of Peace News will be specially interested in what he says about the new town of Faridabad, near Delhi, because during 1950 a small International Voluntary Service for Peace (SCI) team was working there. The plan adopted at Faridabad was to get the refugees to build the town themselves, and it wasn't at first an easy plan for them to accept. A demon-

PASS ON YOUR PEACE NEWS

THERE are many sympathisers and organisations overseas who would like to receive Peace News free, and also subscribers who, through retirement and other reasons, can no longer afford payment.

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Please write for particulars to the Publishing Department, at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. Should there be a delay in responding to your offer, you will know that immediate needs have been met, but that we shall write to you as soon as more names are available.

BOOK REVIEWS

Our food

Britain's Food Supplies, by K. G. Fenelon. MA, PhD. Methuen and Co. 15s.

RECENT years have seen a spate of books dealing with problems of population and food supply, most of which have emphasised the undernourishment of at least half the world's population, the fact that despite a considerably increased population, production has barely reached pre-war level, and that the prospect for the next 50 years is a doubling of the world's population with no possibility of a corresponding increase in food production—the result: widespread starvation or an embittered and violent struggle for the available food.

The present book does not fall into this category. It is concerned with the past and the present, is severely factual in its treatment and only in its first five pages concerns itself with the future to point out that, while the prospect above outlined cannot be dismissed as impossible, there are so many imponderables that it is by no means a certainty.

So far as Britain is concerned, the picture can be drawn with much greater clarity, and there is need for certain difficult adjustments to a changed economic situation.

★ Unlike some of the books referred to above, Dr. Fenelon's volume cannot be read with the speed of a romance. It is rather a guide for the student, fully supplied with facts and figures, though many of the latter are relegated to the 31 tables of statistics at the end. There is also, incidentally, a useful bibliography, of which official reports form the major part.

After a passing reference to Domesday conditions, Dr. Fenelon has much of interest to tell us of diets and dishes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries before coming down to our own generation and the effects on food production and consumption of two world wars and of the social and economic changes which have marked this period. Close attention is given to the war-time feeding of Britain and the lessons learned from it and to ways in which the knowledge and the experience thus gained can be applied to an unexpectedly bleak post-war outlook.

The closing chapters take us from the home scene to a consideration of the world situation, the organisation and functions of international bodies working in this field, and the difficulties, social, political and economic with which they are faced.

We are reminded that there is no simple solution by applying a heavy dose of mechanisation and of chemicals to underdeveloped lands. "The agrarian structure itself generally needs to be reformed at the same time."

And when it comes to transforming a social and cultural pattern which has existed perhaps for thousands of years, it is obvious that quick results are not to be expected.

A sane and well-documented book which will be a mine of information and a perpetual source of reference to anyone who wishes to be well-informed on this vital subject.

HAROLD BING.

CAN SOCIETY

BE CONTROLLED FOR MAN?

Wilfred Wellock's Orchard Lea Papers

the controversy published in Peace News on the subject.

Free traders have objected that an agro-industrial plan for any given community means control of imports and exports. This entails coercive interference, which is a negation of pacifism. The only economy consistent with pacifism, it is implied, is to let the individual man and woman buy where they like. If this means the exclusive concentration upon industrial production in one area, and the complete giving over of other areas to agriculture, then that is what they want.

The trouble about this point of view is that it virtually denies that a man should consider social values when making purchases to supply his needs. Indeed the most unsatisfactory thing about the controversy in Peace News correspondence columns was the failure to recognise the importance of this problem.

In these comments I have touched on only one of the major problems of social

Children without homes

"CHILDREN WITHOUT HOMES" is the story of Children's Homes from the inside.

It will make a strong appeal to men and women who are foster parents of large families of children with varied histories, characters and temperaments. The author has a clear view of the difficulties encountered by superintendents, matrons and house parents. He knows which of their actions are likely to be misinterpreted by the layman, and is aware that routine may smother inspiration and vision.

The chapter headed "Spare the Rod . . ." will provide material for discussion on corporal punishment, a subject largely in our minds just now. The author deals only

* By Theodore F. Tucker, John Lane 9s. 6d.

morality involved. Wilfred Wellock outlines the moral values he holds to be necessary to society, and suggests what steps should be taken to support these values.

In the Orchard Lea Papers, month by month, he discusses these problems in relation to current trends, and he never fails to provide a great deal of suggestive and provocative ideas for discussion.

Urgent problem

If, as may prove, the present phase of East-West tension is coming to an end, and the problems of production are likely to be freed from their present canalisation into armaments, the issues which the Orchard Lea Papers raise will present themselves even more urgently for discussion. Local groups of the Peace Pledge Union, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Labour Pacifist Fellowship could with profit base regular discussion groups on these papers. They are supplied at the following post paid rates: 1 copy 3d; 12 issues posted as published 3s; 12 copies of any issues posted together 2s; 25—4s; 50—7s. 6d; 100—14s; 250—30s. They may be obtained from Housman's Bookshop or from Orchard Lea, New Longton, Preston, Lancs.

J.A.S.

TWO PAGES OF

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quarterly revue (Inter- of Differing Civilisation).

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s its articles in either sometimes in both, an- may make rather heav- nary reader, they are arding if one strugg- ot capable of light an- nt. The current issue ntains an article on the ion of Society by Dr- hropologist at the Roy- Amsterdam, a series of ification and modernis- n various countries an- nancial Surveys from he world.

T. R. D.

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PERCY REDFERN

GAOL FOR COs

Free Church protest

THE Free Church Federal Council has passed the following resolution on the renewal of the National Service Act:

In view of our Christian concern for the upbuilding of peace and our national traditional respect for personal liberty, the Free Church Federal Council is gravely concerned that it should be found necessary to continue conscription for military service, and would strongly urge Her Majesty's Government to ensure (a) that the wartime provision for conscientious objection and exemption be fully maintained; (b) that the question of continuing conscripted service should be subject to Parliamentary revision with a view to its termination at the earliest possible date.

When Parliamentary consideration is given to its renewal, the Council calls for the repair of a serious defect in the Act. There are no provisions made for men who genuinely acquire pacifist convictions during or after their National Service to register as conscientious objectors to any further service. (Such provisions exist for Z Reservists who have no statutory obligation to National Service under the National Service Act.)

It would appear (Hansard 1068) that only after a sentence of three months' imprisonment has been imposed can an appeal be lodged for examination of a man's conscientious objection to further service. The Council deeply deplores the suggestion that it should be official policy that the only way of ascertaining conscientious conviction is by imprisonment and calls for a more considerate treatment of the problem.

BOYS IN THE ARMY

Conscience clause needed

MANSFIELD (Notts) Peace Group has written to three local Labour MPs—Mr. H. B. Taylor (Mansfield), Mr. G. Dear (Newark) and Mr. H. Neal (Bolsover)—urging that they should support a proposed conscience clause for boys in the Services when the Army and Air Force Annual Acts come before the Commons.

"We do not consider that the alternative suggested by the Select Committees which is revising the Army Act—that bona fide cases of conscientious objection would be dealt with administratively—is satisfactory, as it is obvious that on a fundamental principle of British justice it is impossible for any Service authority to claim to be an impartial judge of a man's conscience," writes the Group.

The Group unites local members of the Peace Pledge Union and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Annual Public Meetings
OAK ROOM, KINGSWAY HALL
Thursday, April 30

2 p.m. Annual Business Meeting
3.30 p.m. Annual Public Meeting
Speaker: JOHN FERGUSON, M.A., B.D.
4.15 p.m. Tea and Discussion

A welcome to all interested in the work of the Fellowship

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF LABOUR WOMEN

Labour accepts Russian peace overtures

—MARGARET HERBISON, M.P.

AN emergency resolution "welcoming the new attitude of the Peking Government, which has resulted in the agreement to exchange sick and wounded prisoners in Korea," was unanimously carried by over 700 delegates at the annual National Conference of Labour Women at Edinburgh.

The resolution, put forward by the London Labour Party, suggested that General Nam Il's letter to General Harrison offered an opportunity for the re-opening of full armistice talks, and urged the Government to press for this, so that the war in Korea should be ended as soon as possible. It added:

"This conference expresses fervent hope that the ending of the Korean war will lead to the general settlement of Far Eastern problems and, as a result, the Chinese People's Republic will be admitted to membership of the United Nations."

Moving the adoption of the resolution, Mrs. Alma Burke told the delegates who came from all parts of Scotland, England and Wales: "There can be no real peace in

the world while the war continues in Korea. In this resolution, we are speaking for women and their families from all over the world."

New Russian policy

Miss Margaret Herbison, MP, who spoke in support of the resolution, said that the Executive welcomed the resolution. The change of attitude in Korea had come about as a result of the new Russian policy, but, she said, "we do not know what all this means from Russia."

"We say quite definitely that we accept these new overtures and we hope that we will be able to foster them and make them even better. That is the attitude of the British Labour Movement, and we are convinced that this attitude will ultimately lead to peace," she said.

Miss Herbison added that women throughout the world were searching for peace and they were glad to find a "change of heart" in quarters where, not so long ago, the difficulties seemed acute.

Mrs. Jessie Smith, JP, of Marsden, Yorks, chairman of the conference, said that there was no point in speculating the reasons for the change in the Soviet attitude. "We have waited long for signs of a more co-operative attitude in the Kremlin and we owe it to a world which is passionately longing for peace to miss no opportunity of welcoming and testing every advance which Russia is prepared to make," she added.

Peace in Africa

Another resolution "deploring the recent happenings in Kenya" was unanimously approved. Presented by the Stretford Women's Section, the resolution urged the Labour Party, when returned to power, to review the whole question of development of Colonial territories and relations with native peoples.

"The Conference re-affirms that racial freedom and equality is one of the fundamental concepts of our creed," the resolution added.

Miss Irene White, MP, said that there could be no hope of peace in Africa unless Britain, in her political, economic and social connections really carried out the principles of Socialism and Christianity.

Ballot on Korea

THE East Ham Peace Committee recently conducted a door-to-door canvass to ascertain local opinion on several questions concerning the war in Korea. An analysis of the first 200 ballot papers examined shows the following result:

	Yes	No	Know	Don't
				(per cent)
1. Are you in favour of an immediate cease-fire in Korea?	96	3	1	
2. Would it be easier to discuss the return of prisoners after having ceased fire	76	12	12	
3. Should all foreign troops be withdrawn from Korea?	70	20	10	
4. Is Jelly-petrol (Napalm) bombing a barbaric form of warfare that should cease forthwith	80	10	10	
5. Should the Korean War be extended by Generals and Politicians without consulting the peoples of the countries concerned?	4	87	9	

Several persons referring to the question about Jelly-petrol bombs wrote "all warfare is barbaric."

"The sword is not the answer"

DEAN Liston Pope of Yale Divinity School told the Ohio pastors convention meeting in Columbus (USA), that the church is the most segregated major institution in America and it must "achieve reconciliation in its own life before it can attempt to heal society very effectively."

"If racial segregation were outlawed in all the churches simultaneously there probably would be little immediate change in the patterns of church attendance," he said, "but there would be a profound difference in the psychological and religious atmosphere of the churches and in the attitude of minority groups."

EXPERIMENTAL MATERIAL

Conscripts will no doubt be delighted with the increased range for national service that the army now offers. Latest item: five hundred troops were recently marched to the coronation viewing stands in parts of London and ordered to jump up and down on the boards to test the security of the structures. No accidents have so far been reported.

BRIEFLY . . .

An international, interfaith Peace Centre has been opened at Rochester, New York, "to help plan peace programmes . . . and to promote brotherly affection with respect and reverence for every person." One of the first activities of the Centre was a talk by A. J. Muste of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

As a result of the action of Dutch COs in giving their services to fight the recent disastrous floods in Holland (Feb. 20), the War Minister has decided that the CO Camp at Vladder should be abolished and henceforth COs will perform their civilian service in the distressed areas. This brings to an end a very unsatisfactory situation at Vladder Camp.—WRI.

Birkbeck College, University of London has formed a Pacifist Society.

In the University of Cape Town, staff students are also making a stand against the colour bar. The Principal, Brian Dr. T. B. Davie, says that they must all be vigilant in view of the present threat to academic freedom.

Since the war in Korea began, nearly 40 men have deserted from the American Army. All but 11,000 have been recaptured and they are reported to have embarked for Korea under armed guard.

Cost of African Army

The total cost of maintaining the West African Frontier Force is reported to be rising. Expenditure has reached six million pounds per year.

In a sermon given at St. Paul's Cathedral, New York recently, the Rev. David Gannon of Graymoor, Franciscan Friars said, "We see large standing armies ready for the march of pillage and rapine and murder and the jugation of whole peoples into slavery. And with our souls groaning in anguish we ask ourselves: 'What shall we do about it?' Shall we the followers of gentle Christ, take the sword and our hope in retaliation and revenge? The answer, concluded the preacher, not the sword but the way of Christ."

Olive Wilson edits a new monthly devoted to discussion of matters relating to peace and goodwill. The April issue contains articles on astrology, the Spiritual Council, and Peace. The price at ninepence per copy is obtainable from Olive Wilson, Romany Tan, Gable Ridge, Nr. Fordingbridge, Hants.

The mothers and fathers of Bremen have up an ingenious method for overcoming the appeal which lurid comics have on their children. They promised a classic book in exchange for four copies of a big book for twenty-five cents. In two days 55,000 comics were handed in and the parents had run out of books for exchange. This seems an idea which could well be put into practice where children are the victims of violent and sensational literature.

In an attempt to break down racial religious prejudice, the Cleveland Round Table of the National Conference of Christians and Jews is distributing ten selected books among children of various faiths. They contain simple stories which tell of the cultural backgrounds of various peoples and the ways in which they react to different situations.

Breaking down race prejudice
An American organisation, American Friends of African Children, limited, has been set up by Mrs. P. Baker, a Philadelphia educator, after a four-month tour of Africa. The organisation which will be non-sectarian will specialise in gathering material forwarding them to African churches through some of the established religious organisations now active in various areas.

The Women's International League has been granted specialised consulting status with the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation. The Director of FAO in his letter of admission said: "This extension of the co-operation which already exists between our two organisations will be to our mutual benefit."

Prisoners in American prisons are reported to provide more blood donors than capita volunteers on the outside. Ever appeals for "guinea-pigs" for medical experiments are made there is a large number of volunteers amongst convicts, although no financial, or with regard to their sentences, is offered for this service.

In Cape Town, two African teachers now allowed to teach again after being banned for three months. Because they had been active in the African National Congress, their classes were considered to be "gatherings" within the meaning of the Suppression of Communism Act. The ban was only lifted after an appeal to the Minister of Justice by African MP's.

IRENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NOT SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER
This pledge, signed by each member on the basis of the Peace Pledge Union, YOUR pledge to
P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St.

The doctor

PEACE NE

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YEAR'S WORK

"OUR development is made urgently necessary by the continued failure of the mass circulation newspapers to provide constructive leadership and reliable information," declare the directors of Peace News in the report for 1952 (free on request).

The losses on the publication of Peace News, which totalled £2,300 (a much lower loss than in 1951) were balanced by a profit of £1,050 from the sale of Christmas Cards, £160 from Housman's Bookshop and donations to the Peace News Fund amounting to £1,220.

Thus the paper began 1953 in a relatively sound position financially, but with a lower circulation than at any time in the preceding year.

Unless sales make great strides in the coming months (and we believe a 100 per cent increase to be an immediate possibility) we shall be reduced to the grim financial position that compelled last year's increase in price and, what is far more important, fail to make that far reaching and powerful advocacy of pacifism which is so vitally needed today.

When, therefore, the 1952 report is presented, this weekend, to the annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union, the members will be asked—and we hope they will be impelled—to devote the remainder of 1953 to an intensive effort to put Peace News right into the forefront of British journals of opinion. They will have some effective "aids" for the campaign, the attractive new leaflet in the form of a facsimile Peace News, a "how-to-do-it" booklet on PN sales and distribution entitled "The Peace News Story" (it includes a short history of the paper and several illustrations) and a special leaflet to remind all PPU members of their particular responsibilities towards the paper.

These publications, along with posters and other leaflets, are available to readers anywhere, no matter what their affiliations, who will throw their energies into this important peace effort. We need the active goodwill of all our readers, and are confident that everyone who joins in will find there are far more potential pacifists than he ever knew before.

This, with prospects of peace so much brighter, is a personal challenge to every reader to make 1953 a peace progress year by making it a Peace News year, as the PPU are doing. We are out to double the circulation this year. And you are in on this.

H.F.M.

Circulation last week: 11,200.

EX-SERVICE MOVEMENT FOR PEACE.
TRAFALGAR SQUARE,
Sunday, April 26, 3 p.m.
"Towards International Understanding and Friendship."

The doctored case

PEACE NEWS has done so much, in the past, to preserve a sane outlook on international affairs that the editorial comment on what is described as "the doctored case" (April 10) must have come as a shock to fair-minded readers.

In the absence of proof to the contrary, the prompt action taken by the Procurator to prevent a miscarriage of justice should be held to redound to the credit of the Soviet legal system. If the United States Government had shown the same readiness to check the evidence brought forward in such cases as those of Alger Hiss and the Rosenbergs, to mention only two out of many, we should all applaud.

Your statement, unsupported by facts, that "the charges were lies and the confessions similarly false in most of the hundreds of purge trials which preceded them" is an unhappy example of the sort of propaganda, put out by the "Department of Dirty Tricks," to divert attention from such revealing documents as General Crow's "Diary" and the verbatim reports of treason trials in Hungary and Bulgaria.

No one who has recently visited any of the People's Democracies, now openly threatened by Messrs Eisenhower and Hitler accorded Czechoslovakia, can be in any doubt about the ferocity of the cold war now being waged with the dollars made available by the Mutual Security Act.

Ignorance of these activities, which are the root cause of the political trials which you denounce as false, is inexcusable at a time when there is, at last, some hope of a détente. "The truth is," as Mr. Deema'd Thompson pointed out in his admirable article, "that the people do not want to know what goes on." From Peace News we have a right to expect reason, based on a knowledge of the facts, rather than blind prejudice.

DOUGLAS GOLDRING.

Monar House, Deal.
This letter is commented on in the lead article on page 2.—Editor.

"Nice People"

Warning, "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword," to apply to the other fellow.

Neo people deliberately choose the horrors that defile God's earth when, even remotely, they participate in some variety of man's inhumanity.

Prepare a super-bomb to obliterate thousands of citizens of some country whose interests seem to clash with yours (though 500 comics were handed out to them, given the chance, would undoubtedly agree with any citizen of yours on the basic things of the good life), and your virtuous indignation when that country goes one better is solemn farce. "Do as you would be done by" is sound Christianity and sound sense.

Put not your trust in rulers nor in any

Protests and projects

I WRITE to thank you for the special issue of March 20—for the Porton protest, and still more, perhaps, for the Work Camps supplement; the first being negative but necessary, and the second positive and practical.

It would be splendid if protests were always linked with projects. Many who will not sign the PPU pledge will co-operate in constructive work for peace. At work camps they will meet with pacifists, to the benefit of both, and the betterment of one small spot of this troubled earth.

I have one regret about the Porton demonstration. None of the speeches or posters appear to have protested against the cruelty to animals used in the scientific tests. Many of us, especially convinced pacifists, cannot believe that the torture of helpless animals is justified even for a good end such as health—much less for war. Certainly what is done at Porton should be made public.

M. L. V. HUGHES.

Thring, Seathwaite.
Broughton-in-Furness.

Science and peace

THE heart-felt desire expressed in William Armstrong's letter, in PN dated 3.1.53, to exterminate all scientists, is increasingly being voiced as thinking people regard the chaos to which the scientific attitude—continually sacrificing compassion and wisdom to curiosity and expediency—has reduced the world. But it must be remembered, especially by pacifists, that it is this attitude of mind, and not the persons that should be exterminated, or outlawed by common consent.

This natural revulsion which today springs from bitter experience has existed in an intuitive form throughout the ages, and was formerly expressed in the persecution of wizards, the primitive alchemists and physicists, by people who were not able to rationalise their instinctive feeling that the search for knowledge through materialism was a perilous and diabolic course. How right this instinct, so long despised as superstitious was, is proved by

CONTINUED FROM
PAGE THREE

child of man," said the psalmist ruler, conceptions of frailty. No general cure will be tried or applied by governments or communities. Governments can raise their standards only as individual citizens raise theirs—and somewhat more laggingly. If they are to become as "nice" as those they represent, it will be when each nice individual stands apart more often from other nice people to give the eternal Voice a chance, and refuses to rush headlong down the Gadarene slope with the herd of lower selves which his own is only too ready to join. The "No" we say to war, or any other evil, must be ours. No other can say it for us, we can say it for no other. But the "Yes—herd" will melt surely as the individuals in it stop to say their own "No."

Notes for your Diary.

This is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent to us. We nevertheless desire to make it as useful a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and their address)—preferably in that order and style.

3. Voluntary: Anglican Pacifist Fellowship; Fellowship of Reconciliation; Methodist Peace Fellowship; National Peace Council, NPC; Peace Council, PC; PWC; Peace Pledge Union, PPU; Society of Friends, SoF.

Friday, April 24
BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m.: LYONS, Lyons, Connie Jones. "Campaigning for Peace." PPU, For.

Saturday, April 25
BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. Bull St. Rev. Clifford Macquaire, Area Conf. For. "Constructive Peace-making." Public Mtg. For.

Sunday, April 26
LONDON, W.C.1: Peace Pledge Union. See advert above.

Monday, April 27
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Salem I.M. Ch. Conf. on Conscience. John D. Belden, "The Unity of Religions." Religious Commission, PPU. Winton House, 6A Summer St. Tickets and particulars.

Tuesday, April 28
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. Bull St. Rev. Clifford Macquaire, Area Conf. For. "Constructive Peace-making." Public Mtg. For.

Wednesday, April 29
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. Bull St. Rev. Clifford Macquaire, Area Conf. For. "Constructive Peace-making." Public Mtg. For.

Thursday, April 30
BIRMINGHAM: 7.15 p.m.: Dick Shepherd Ho., Holloway Head. Reports on National AGM. PPU.

Friday, May 1
LONDON, W.C.2: 1.30 p.m.: St. Martin-in-the-Fields. Intercession Service for Peace. The Rev. Claude Colman, A.P.F., For. PPU.

Saturday, May 2
BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. Bull St. Rev. Clifford Macquaire, Area Conf. For. "Constructive Peace-making." Public Mtg. For.

Sunday, May 3
BIRMINGHAM: 6.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. Bull St. Rev. Clifford Macquaire, Area Conf. For. "Constructive Peace-making." Public Mtg. For.

Thursday, April 30
BIRMINGHAM: 7.15 p.m.: Dick Shepherd Ho., Holloway Head. Reports on National AGM. PPU.

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Sunday, May 3
BIRMINGHAM: 6.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. Bull St. Rev. Clifford Macquaire, Area Conf. For. "Constructive Peace-making." Public Mtg. For.

Monday, May 4
HAMMERSMITH: 8 p.m.: Dalling Rd. Methodist School. W.G. Enrya Hughes, MP. "My Visit to China." For and PPU.

Tuesday, May 5
GLoucester: 7 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. Greyfriars, off Southgate. Clifford Macquaire, "Talking Peace in Moscow." For.

Wednesday, May 6
GLoucester: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. Greyfriars, off Southgate. Clifford Macquaire, "Talking Peace in Moscow." For.

Thursday, May 7
GLoucester: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. Greyfriars, off Southgate. Clifford Macquaire, "Talking Peace in Moscow." For.

Friday, May 8
GLoucester: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. Greyfriars, off Southgate. Clifford Macquaire, "Talking Peace in Moscow." For.

Saturday, May 9
LONDON, E.1: 3.5.30 p.m.: St. George-in-the-East Secondary School, Cable St. "Peace Week." Ales. A. Bloom, RA. "School Without Wars." (See 1 p.m.). Please arrive 15 mins. before 3.5.30. Tickets and particulars.

Sunday, May 10
LONDON, E.1: 3.5.30 p.m.: St. George-in-the-East Secondary School, Cable St. "Peace Week." Ales. A. Bloom, RA. "School Without Wars." (See 1 p.m.). Please arrive 15 mins. before 3.5.30. Tickets and particulars.

Monday, May 11
LONDON, E.1: 3.5.30 p.m.: St. George-in-the-East Secondary School, Cable St. "Peace Week." Ales. A. Bloom, RA. "School Without Wars." (See 1 p.m.). Please arrive 15 mins. before 3.5.30. Tickets and particulars.

Tuesday, May 12
LONDON, E.1: 3.5.30 p.m.: St. George-in-the-East Secondary School, Cable St. "Peace Week." Ales. A. Bloom, RA. "School Without Wars." (See 1 p.m.). Please arrive 15 mins. before 3.5.30. Tickets and particulars.

Wednesday, May 13
LONDON, E.1: 3.5.30 p.m.: St. George-in-the-East Secondary School, Cable St. "Peace Week." Ales. A. Bloom, RA. "School Without Wars." (See 1 p.m.). Please arrive 15 mins. before 3.5.30. Tickets and particulars.

the existence of atom, napalm and hydrogen bombs, and other devilish instruments of destruction.

And yet our lunatic, science-proud generation despises religion, the Founders of which all saw the real need of humanity, that of evolving spiritually to a higher species of manhood, to the "measure and stature of Jesus Christ." Buddha, Mahavira, and so on, when they would be good and wise enough to know how to deal with acquired knowledge, or "natural" powers. This was the true and original meaning of what the materialists sneer at as opium of the people. Far from being "dope", it now stands revealed as the most obvious and clear-sighted sanity. The cosmic bedlam that we see about us is the result of its rejection.

ESME WYNNE-TYSON,

Charwyn, East Beach,
Selsey, Sussex.

Responsibilities of physicists

I HOPE William Armstrong (April 3 issue) and Dr. H. H. Hopkins (March 20 issue) are not typical of public opinion. Quite apart from the benefits that science has brought our generation, this ostrich-like attitude, I feel, is very dangerous.

No one can hold back progress—nor should one want to—and if there is a danger that new discoveries will be put to uses detrimental to the future of humanity, rather than to its betterment—then, what is needed is courage. Courage to face up to the added responsibilities that these discoveries bring. That, I feel, is what "Science for Peace" is trying to do. Surely, if all Physicists faced up to their tremendous responsibilities and refused to work for war, a mighty blow would be struck for peace.

NANCY WOOD,

Penfold Lane, Romiley, Cheshire.

A moment of hope

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG is right—this world seems anxious to spread its insanity far and wide.

But a moment of light and hope has come this Easter. Cannot we, who believe that war is the crowning insanity of the universe—wasting almost all our energies on preparing devilish murder implements—cannot we urge speedily that the money now spent on armaments be pooled internationally? This suggestion should be made to all the Powers, with the plan of an International Commission to administer this vast sum for the good of all the world. It might be used for irrigation of deserts, for education, for scientific research into the cause and cure of diseases; for these and many another benefit to mankind. This could utilise the men and materials now employed in the arms industry.

We should further urge the formation of a true International Police Force, unarmed like the English Police, and not causing devastation and misery like the United Nations' forces in Korea, which are waging as truly war, as any national war.

A. RUTH FRY,

18 Clarendon Road,
London, W.11.

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LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.
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MEETINGS
INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m.
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ROSE HILL Hall, Sutton. Annual meeting of the Surrey Peace Council, Sunday, April 26, 2 p.m. Delegates, Observers, Visitors, 2s. 6d. each. All organisations and groups welcome.

THE GARIBOLDI Group meets regularly on Fridays, 7.30 p.m. at the Garibaldi Restaurant, 10 Laystall St., E.C.1 (near Holborn Hall, between Clerkenwell Rd. and Rosbury Avenue). April 24, W. Drayton, "The Trades Council." May 1, Murray Edgill, "The D. C. Thompson Dispute."

WESTMINSTER: Sat., May 2, 2 p.m.: Conversation Hall, C. Dr. L. L. L. and Prof. Haldane, "Food Supplies, Population and War." Open to doctors and interested members of allied professions. Medical Association for the Prevention of War.

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PERSONAL
PLEASE BOOK this time and date: 8.25 p.m. Sunday next, April 26, BHC all home services. Vice-Chancellor, Oxford University, appeals on behalf of Famline Relief.

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R SANCTION ANOTHER

signed by each member
the Peace Pledge Union, So

HEADQUARTERS
1 House, Endeleigh St.

"WOULD PEACE BE A DISASTER?"

THE headline of this article is taken from the business column of the American journal, News-Week.

It indicates how some sections of business opinion in USA regard the possibility of international agreement. In the New York Times of April 8 a well-known columnist, James Reston, wrote:

"For seven years the Russians have tried to scare us into isolation and inflation, now, as the experts here see it, one of their objectives seems to be to smile us into disarmament, deflation, unemployment and depression."

Somersault technique

The writer in News-Week comments:

"It was only a few months ago that the Russian Communists were accused of threatening war mainly to force ourselves into inflation and bankruptcy."

"Now they are accused of threatening peace to force us to economise ourselves into inflation and bankruptcy."

"A regular technique seems to have developed among our would-be planners, official and unofficial. If they want to get us to do something, they immediately charge that the Russians are trying to force us to do the opposite."

A casual glance at our own Press shows how strongly any real attempt at disarmament following a peace conference, would be resisted by all kinds of vested interests.

While everybody is prepared to welcome the general lines of President Eisenhower's speech, innumerable objections will be raised when anything practical comes to be discussed.

"Economic revolution"

Mr. Butler, referring to the international situation in his Budget Speech said:

"No one can foresee what any possible radical change from defence expenditure would, in itself bring about. No doubt, if it were rapid it would bring about an economic revolution of considerable size. It is unlikely that things will work out just like that. We must be firm, we must continue to be strong and we must not relax."

Note that last sentence which is likely to be the keynote of much that will be said and written during the coming weeks.

Menace of the Secret Service

A Scots paper said on Sunday with the headline: "Secret Service proves Russia is not disarming."

Well, what does one expect from a Secret Service with a considerable increased personnel and with £5,000,000 placed at its disposal by the Government with no debate in the House of Commons, whose existence on such a scale depends upon the continuation of the cold war?

Then, what about the gentlemen at the War Office and the high-up military gentlemen whose pay, pensions and promotion depend upon war plans and preparations?

What advice would the Chiefs of Staff give if they were asked by the Government what our attitude to Russian peace plans should be? "Don't relax," would be their reply.

Whatever the Russians say or do the Service Ministers will all have ready their memoranda and their expert advice to prove that we must go on rearming. Their jobs depend on wars and rumours of wars.

It will be the same in the armaments industries. Will the firms who have secured big contracts for expensive new armaments want to see their plans changed now?

The extracts from the American press show what certain business men are thinking in the USA, and we will have their opposite numbers here, who will regard any brightening of the international situation as a calamity.

In his speech President Eisenhower did discuss the possibility of diverting "the energies, the resources, and the imagination of all peaceful nations to a new kind of war. This would be declared total war, not upon any human enemy but upon the brute forces of poverty and need." Of course this is what the world needs.

HARWELL ★ From page one

prepared to stand alone and blaze a trail on his own.

"Would you drop an atom bomb? That is the question. You have the power to release a bomb which in one minute of time will create misery and suffering, not only for one generation but for many to come."

"We may not see the dying, the blinded, the men with eyes running out on their cheeks, but if we are prepared to work on atomic weapons, we are responsible."

Tom Wardle, a member of Peace News staff, said he spoke as a man who had been part of the invasion force ready to attack Japan before the atom bombs were dropped. He was thus one of those whose lives might perhaps have been saved by the use of these bombs, but it was with a deep sense of shame that he realised this.

A new opportunity was now before the world. Gestures from the east and the west were being made. Perhaps they contained little substance, but the people could give them substance, he believed. "If we have the courage to take this chance, to hope again, to give vent to that yearning in all our hearts for peace, we may see in our day the beginning of a sweeter and nobler civilisation. The time is almost here. Will you be ready for it when it comes?"

But every kind of excuse will be produced to show how dangerous it would be for us to change our ways of thinking.

We will expect the Russians to be reasonable by accepting without question every proposal that the West lays down to them.

We will expect the Russians to leave Germany while America remains in Japan. We will expect the Russians to change their policies while we persist in ours.

But the Russians could make the politicians in the West look foolish if they showed that their recent moves were really part of a change of policy which demonstrated that the West had no reason to fear them and that they were not preparing to make war.

That would create real friendliness towards Russia, and show the people of the Western countries clearly that there is no need for us to be wasting our resources on an arms race.

But we, too, must be prepared to show by deeds as well as words that we are not intending to build up forces to attack the USSR or the other Communist countries.

Why should the British government be hanging back for some other government to make the first move?

A generous response to the new trends in Russian policy would do more to bring us security than all our bombers and tanks.

THE "PEACE OFFENSIVE"

Continued from page one

gedies in the future. The widening of the conference to include America and France and the hope that it may lead to a full conference on the future of Germany.

4.—The new directive issued to the East German government which foreshadows a Russian acceptance of free all German elections under international supervision and the freeing of a re-united Germany from many ties with either East or West.

5.—The agreement on the new Secretary-General of the United Nations.

6.—The withdrawal of the Russian amendment in the Political Commission which accused Britain and America of mis-using the disarmament commission for their own purposes.

7.—The withdrawal by Poland of a controversial amendment.

8.—The complete unanimity with which the resolution on Korea was approved both in the political committee and the Assembly.

What has the West done?

What has the West put up to show that they are prepared to go more than halfway?

All that they do is, like Oliver Twist, to ask for more; while Eisenhower hints at conditions for a Korean armistice which are not relevant to the purpose which took the UN into the conflict, and also at demands for Germany which would seek to integrate a united Germany into the Western system of defence.

Meanwhile, Mr. Dulles seems determined to prevent too much oil being poured on troubled waters and to give his own twist to events.

He has gone so far as to say that the President's speech has created "a situation where it is very obvious that unless there is a very prompt response by the Soviet Union it will be quite apparent that it will be necessary to move ahead on all fronts, east and west, to develop a strong position."

This is the language of ultimatum, not of negotiation.

It comes badly from a Foreign Minister who has failed to give any serious recognition to the value of what Russia and China have already done, or to take one step to meet them.

Assurances the West should give

The time has indeed come when it is essential that the West should give concrete assurances to the East and prove that they can practice what they preach when they ask for deeds and not words.

Here are some which should be given at once:

1. That on the day the armistice in Korea is signed, Britain and America will ask the UN to accept the representatives of the Peking government as the only lawful representatives of China.

2. That since the Korean conflict was used to justify the extension of the period of full time conscript service in Britain and of calling up additional drafts in America, H.M. Government will withdraw the intention of reimposing Conscription and allow the National Service Acts to expire on December 31.

3. That if Russia is prepared to agree to free elections for an all German government and thus face the certainty of losing control of E. Germany, Britain and America will abandon any attempt to re-arm W. Germany or use a united Germany for the purpose of strengthening Western defence forces.

4. That Britain and America will no longer insist on the outmoded Haruch plan in the Disarmament Commission but will seek a new approach in the endeavour to face the realities of the situation.

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Headmaster Eisenhower

We care nothing for rhetoric. We care only for sincerity of peaceful purpose—attested by deeds. The opportunities for such deeds are many... such as Russia's signature to an Austrian Treaty, or its release of thousands of prisoners still held from World War II... The first great step must be the conclusion of an honourable armistice in Korea... It should mean an end to the direct and indirect attacks on the security of Indo-China and Malaya... I know of only one question on which progress waits. It is this: What is the Soviet Union ready to do? Whatever the answer be let it be plainly spoken.

President Eisenhower, April 16, 1953

At an open-air meeting last Sunday, a Roman Catholic heckler informed me that the only way to achieve peace was through prayer and penance; I replied that in my view, repentance was also a necessary step.

It is the lack of any admission of even a mistake, let alone a sin of omission, or commission, that is so noticeable in Eisenhower's much publicised speech. Although he repudiates rhetoric at the outset, his statement, designated by that master of rhetoric, Mr. Churchill, as 'massive and magnificent' is nothing if it is not rhetorical.

He demands, not from the West, but from the East, deeds as a basis for a genuine peace settlement. His whole attitude to the difficulties of the international situation is one that might be adopted by a headmaster to a naughty schoolboy, or possibly a Colonel to a delinquent junior officer.

Remarks of that nature are necessarily

based on the headmaster's, or Colonel's, assumption of personal rectitude and consciousness. There is no concession necessary, but only a statement of the case against the culprit, and a demand that he should repent, apologise, do penance, and since his deeds that he is a reformed character.

Both Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Churchill seem to be unaware of the yawning gulf between their own words and deeds. They stated, as though it were perfectly plain, that there are definite moves that must be made to prove the sincerity of words: in fact words are by no means enough.

It is curious how complacent is Eisenhower's apparent inability to perceive that his own rhetoric does nothing to prove to Russia that the West is sincere in its desire for peace. "No-one wants war," phrase that has become meaningless by constant repetition, and it was all too obvious, when recently, the Communists made a move that seemed to make a Korean armistice possible, that no one in the West really seemed to want peace.

There is little chance of the gloom, hope, which has suddenly penetrated the dark abysses of war preparation, becoming stronger or powerful enough to "lighten the darkness" permanently, if the West make no concession, confess to no mistakes, accept no responsibility for wrongs.

It is frequently said that it takes two to make a quarrel, but it only takes one to start it or to keep it going on. Eisenhower's speech is, unfortunately, replete with self-righteousness: there is no sign of repentance, or for that matter any recognition that he is aware of the necessity of repentance.

There is no offer to consider the difficulties of the Chinese Government, to a plan of the United Nations, no suggestion that difficulties in Malaya and Indo-China possibly arise from any other source than Communist indoctrination, infiltration and aggression.

There is apparently only one obvious making peace immediately, and that is the Soviet Union. The President of the USA demands to know what the Soviet Union is ready to do, and he asks that the answer be plainly spoken. No rhetoric in fact, but it seems hardly possible to credit a man who has just been elected President of a great republic could be so simple-minded that he really believes the Western powers are completely above reproach, and that the Soviet Union, also according to its own great power, will meekly do all that is asked without demanding any concessions in return.

This is not the way to make peace: is the way to make nonsense of all protestations. It is time that a "plain spoken" statement of Western intentions was made and implemented.

It is good to stand well with one's people, but it is better to stand well with the world, and the world is sick to death of words; it wants peace, and it will believe Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Churchill when they as well as Russia show what they are ready to do in order to achieve it.

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